

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00 INRE-00

ACDE-00 /026 W

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P R 071745Z MAY 75

FM USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2606

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 SALT TWO GENEVA 0204

EXDIS/SALT

DEPT ALSO PASS DOD

SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: DEPUTY MINISTER SEMENOV'S STATEMENT OF MAY 7, 1975  
(SALT TWO-653)

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY DEPUTY MINISTER  
SEMENOV AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF MAY 7, 1975. QUOTE

SEMENOV STATEMENT, APRIL 7, 1975

WE ARE HOLDING OUR LAST MEETING ON THE EVE OF A  
SHORT WORKING RECESS. BEHIND US ARE MORE THAN THREE MONTHS  
OF WORK BY THE DELEGATIONS WHO HAVE BEEN INSTRUCTED TO  
PREPARE A JOINT TEXT OF THE DRAFT OF THE NEW AGREEMENT ON  
THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS FOR THE PERIOD  
UNTIL THE END OF 1985. OF COURSE, THIS DRAFT MUST STRICTLY  
ADHERE TO THE LETTER AND SPIRIT OF THE UNDERSTANDING REACHED  
DURING THE SOVIET-AMERICAN MEETING AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL IN  
VLADIVOSTOK, AND CORRESPONDINGLY REFLECT THE PROVISIONS OF  
THE AIDE-MEMOIRE OF DECEMBER 10, 1974. THE ARTICLES AND

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PROVISIONS CONTAINED THEREIN MUST, IN THEIR TOTALITY, BE

BASED ON THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY, ADOPTED BY THE SIDES.

IN THE COURSE OF THE PAST MEETINGS, DURING DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN HEADS OF DELEGATION, AS WELL AS IN THE WORKING GROUP AND THE SPECIAL GROUPS, THE USSR DELEGATION SET FORTH IN DETAIL, AND PROVIDED RATIONALE FOR THE SOVIET SIDE'S APPROACH TO SOLVING THE PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN PREPARING THE NEW AGREEMENT, IN TERMS OF THE GUIDELINES ON THIS SCORE CONTAINED IN THE DOCUMENTS WHICH WERE AGREED UPON AS A RESULT OF THE VLADIVOSTOK MEETING.

WE HAVE BEFORE US THE JOINT TEXT OF A DRAFT AGREEMENT, AD REFERENDUM TO HEADS OF DELEGATION, AS IT APPEARS ON MAY 7, 1975 TO THE WORKING GROUP SET UP BY US. WE JOIN YOU, MR. AMBASSADOR, IN THE CONGRATULATIONS YOU EXTENDED TO THE DELEGATIONS' REPRESENTATIVES IN THE WORKING GROUP. LIKE YOU, I WOULD LIKE TO PRESENT SOME CONSIDERATIONS WITH RESPECT TO THE SITUATION AT OUR NEGOTIATIONS. I BELIEVE THAT YOUR ASSESSMENT OF THE DISCUSSIONS HELD, WHICH WERE USEFUL, CORRESPONDS TO OUR UNDERSTANDING. AT THE SAME TIME, I WOULD LIKE TO DRAW YOUR ATTENTION AGAIN TO THE CONSIDERATIONS WE SET FORTH DURING THE DISCUSSIONS. THESE CONSIDERATIONS ARE IN THE FIELD OF VISION OF THE U.S. SIDE; I DO NOT WISH TO REPEAT THEM ALL AGAIN TODAY.

WITH RESPECT TO THE COMPOSITION OF DELIVERY VEHICLES FOR STRATEGIC WEAPONS, TO BE LIMITED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE AIDE-MEMOIRE OF DECEMBER 10, 1974, TO AN AGGREGATE NUMBER NOT EXCEEDING 2,400 FOR EACH SIDE, THERE IS AGREEMENT THAT IT MUST INCLUDE, IN PARTICULAR, SLBM LAUNCHERS AND LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCHERS.

AS WE HAVE ALREADY POINTED OUT, THE APPROPRIATE PROVISIONS OF THE NEW AGREEMENT, COMBINED WITH ARTICLES I AND II OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT WHICH ARE BEING CARRIED FORWARD, TOGETHER WITH RETENTION OF THE AGREED INTERPRETATION AND COMMON UNDERSTANDING OF MAY 26, 1972 RELATING TO LIMITATIONS CONCERNING INCREASING THE DIMENSIONS OF LAND-BASED SILO ICBM LAUNCHERS BY NO MORE THAN 10-15 PERCENT,

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RESOLVE THE ENTIRE COMPLEX OF ISSUES INVOLVED IN PRECLUDING THE POSSIBILITY OF A BUILDUP IN THE NUMBER OF HEAVY ICBM LAUNCHERS THROUGH CONVERSION OF LIGHT ICBM LAUNCHERS AND LAUNCHERS OF ICBM'S OF OLDER TYPES.

UNDER THE NEW AGREEMENT THIS AGGREGATE NUMBER MUST ALSO INCLUDE HEAVY BOMBERS AND AIR-TO-SURFACE MISSILES WITH A RANGE OVER 600 KILOMETERS WHEN BOMBERS ARE EQUIPPED

WITH THEM. THE SOVIET SIDE INCLUDES IN THE CATEGORY OF HEAVY BOMBERS NUCLEAR WEAPON DELIVERY AIRCRAFT; FOR THE U.S., B-52 AND B-1; FOR THE USSR, TUPOLEV-95 AND MYASISHCHEV, AS WELL AS NEW AIRCRAFT BEING OR TO BE DEVELOPED HAVING CHARACTERISTICS SIMILAR TO THOSE OF THE B-1 BOMBER. THE PROVISION OF PARAGRAPH 2(A) OF THE AIDE-MEMOIRE MUST ALSO BE EMBODIED FULLY AND ACCURATELY IN THE DRAFT OF THE NEW AGREEMENT WHICH IS BEING WORKED OUT. THIS MEANS THAT AIR-TO-SURFACE MISSILES WITH A RANGE OVER 600 KILOMETERS MUST INCLUDE ALL TYPES OF MISSILES OF THIS CATEGORY, BOTH BALLISTIC AND CRUISE MISSILES, INCLUDING THE EXISTING U.S. HOUND DOG MISSILES.

WITHIN THE LIMITS OF THE OVERALL LIMITATION NOT EXCEEDING 2,400 UNITS, EACH SIDE WILL BE FREE TO DETERMINE FOR ITSELF THE COMPOSITION OF THE AGGREGATE NUMBER OF DELIVERY VEHICLES FOR STRATEGIC WEAPONS.

AS STIPULATED BY THE AIDE-MEMOIRE, AN IMPORTANT PROVISION OF THE NEW AGREEMENT MUST BE AN OBLIGATION BY THE SIDES TO LIMIT THE NUMBER OF SLBM LAUNCHERS AND LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCHERS WITH MIRV'ED MISSILES TO AN AGGREGATE NUMBER NOT TO EXCEED 1,320. IT DEFINITELY FOLLOWS FROM THIS PROVISION OF THE AIDE-MEMOIRE THAT EXCEPT FOR ICBM AND SLBM LAUNCHERS, NO OTHER DELIVERY VEHICLES FOR STRATEGIC WEAPONS MAY CONTAIN MIRV'ED MISSILES. WITHIN THE LIMITS OF THE AGGREGATE NUMBER OF 1,320, EACH SIDE WILL BE ENTITLED TO DETERMINE FOR ITSELF THE TYPES AND NUMBERS OF LAUNCHERS WITH MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH SUCH REENTRY VEHICLES.

THE APPROACH PROPOSED BY THE U.S. SIDE FOR ACCOMPLISHING VERIFICATION OF LAUNCHERS WITH MIRV'ED MISSILES IS AIMED  
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AT LIMITING THE RIGHT OF THE SIDES TO DETERMINE FREELY THE COMPOSITION OF THE OVERALL AGGREGATE NUMBER OF DELIVERY VEHICLES FOR STRATEGIC WEAPONS, AS WELL AS THE RIGHT OF THE SIDES TO DETERMINE THE TYPES AND NUMBERS OF LAUNCHERS WITH MIRV'ED MISSILES. IT ALSO CONFLICTS WITH THE RIGHT OF THE SIDES TO MODERNIZE AND REPLACE OTHER MISSILES AND LAUNCHERS FOR THEM.

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00 INRE-00

ACDE-00 /026 W

----- 055685

P R 071745Z MAY 75

FM USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2607

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 SALT TWO GENEVA 0204

EXDIS/SALT

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IN THIS CONNECTION THE USSR DELEGATION REAFFIRMS ITS STATEMENT OF MARCH 27, 1975, MADE ON INSTRUCTIONS OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT, THAT THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLES II.7 AND IV.3 OF THE U.S. DRFT, AS WELL AS THE PROVISIONS SET FORTH IN THE DRAFT PROTOCOL TO THE U.S. DRAFT, ARE NOT IN ACCORD WITH THE VLADIVOSTOK UNDERSTANDING AND ARE UNACCEPTABLE.

PARAGRAPH 5 OF THE AID-MEMOIRE STATES DIRECTLY THAT ADDITIONAL LIMITATIONS ON DEPLOYMENT OF NEW TYPES OF STRATEGIC ARMS COULD ALSO BE PROVIDED FOR IN THE NEW AGREEMENT DURING ITS TERM. BASED ON THIS, THE SOVIET SIDE HAS SUGGESTED SPECIFIC PROVISIONS FOR INCLUSION IN THE NEW AGREEMENT. ADOPTION BY THE SIDE OF THE PROPOSED OBLIGATIONS WOULD BE VERY IMPORTANT FROM THE STANDPOINT OF THE SIDES EXERCISING RESTRAINT IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW TYPES OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS. SUCH OBLIGATIONS WOULD BLOCK POSSIBLE CHANNELS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT AND BUILDUP OF NEW TYPES OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS UNDER CONDITIONS WHEN PRESENTLY EXISTING STRATEGIC

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OFFENSIVE ARMS ARE LIMITED. THIS WOULD MEET THE INTERESTS OF BOTH OUR STATES AS WELL AS THE INTERESTS OF STRENGTHEN-

ING INTERNATIONAL PEACE AS A WHOLE.

IN TERMS OF REACHING THE GOAL SET BY OUR COUNTRIES AT THE ONGOING NEGOTIATIONS, IT WOULD BE VERY IMPORTANT FOR THE SIDES TO HAVE AN UNDERSTANDING ON CONTINUING, IN THE NEAR FUTURE, CONSIDERATION OF THE QUESTION OF NUCLEAR SYSTEMS WHICH ARE NOT COVERED BY THE AGREEMENT UNDER PREPARATION, BUT WHICH, DUE TO THEIR GEOGRAPHIC DEPLOYMENT, ARE CAPABLE OF REACHING THE TERRITORY OF THE OTHER SIDE, AS WELL AS QUESTIONS RELATED TO THE EXISTENCE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN THIRD COUNTRIES. CONSIDERATION OF THESE QUESTIONS IS IN ACCORD WITH THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY. THE SOVIET SIED IS CONVINCED THAT THEIR RESOLUTION MEETS THE LONG-TERM NATIONAL INTERESTS OF THE USSR AND U.S., AS WELL AS THE INTERESTS OF STRENGTHENING PEACE AND SECURITY IN THE ENTIRE WORLD, AND IT PROCEEDS FROM THE PREMISE THAT DISCUSSION OF THESE QUESTIONS WILL BE CONTINUED AT THE ONGOING NEGOTIATIONS.

GUIDED BY THE UNDERSTANDING REACHED AS A RESULT OF THE VLADIVOSTOK MEETING, THE SOVIET SIDE PROPOSED INCLUSION IN THE NEW AGREEMENT OF A PROVISION THAT NO LATER THAN 1980-1981 THE SIDES WOULD BEGIN NEGOTIATIONS ON THE QUESTION OF FURTHER LIMITATIONS AND POSSIBLE REDUCTIONS OF STRATEGIC ARMS. THE USSR DELEGATION SET FORTH ITS CONSIDERATIONS REGARDING THIS PROVISION IN THE COURSE OF PAST DISCUSSIONS.

THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT ADIPTION BY THE SIDES OF AN UNDERTAKING NOT TO TRANSFER STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS TO OTHER STATES AND NOT TO ASSIST IN THEIR DEVELOPMENT, WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO ENHANCING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE NEW AGREEMENT AND TO CONSISTENT EMBODIMENT THEREIN OF THE AGREED PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY. THE SOVIET SIDE TABLED A CORRESPONDING PROPOSAL ON THIS SCORE. IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS PROPOSAL WOULD BE IN THE INTERESTS OF BOTH SIDES AND WOULD BE CONSISTENT WITH THE TASK OF ENSURING DURABILITY OF THE ENTIRE COMPLEX OF OBLIGATIONS WHICH ENSUE FROM THE AGREEMENT TO BE CONCLUDED.

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THE NEW AGREEMENT MUST CONTAIN A PROVISION ON VERIFY-ING COMPLIANCE BY THE SIDES WITH THE OBLIGATIONS ASSUMED. APPROPRIATE RESOLUTION OF THIS QUESTION IS CONTAINED IN THE MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING OF THE SIDES, WHICH IS OF GREAT SIGNIFICANCE IN PRINCIPLE, THAT VERIFICATION OF COMPLIANCE WITH THE LIMITATIONS MUST BE ACCOMPLISHED BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS. THESE MEANS ASSURE SUFFICIENT CONFIDENCE IN COMPLIANCE WITH THE OBLIGATIONS WITH RESPECT TO

THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC ARMS.

AT THE SAME TIME, SOME ADDITIONAL MEASURES OF LIMITATION PROPOSED BY THE U.S. SIDE, IN PARTICULAR THOSE RELATED TO THE QUESTION OF PRACTICES "BEGIN BRACKETS" WHICH IMPEDE VERIFICATION, "END BRACKETS" AS WELL AS TESTING PRACTICES, ARE UNFOUNDED.

WE WOULD LIKE TO EMPHASIZE AGAIN THAT THE OBLIGATIONS PROVIDED FOR IN THE SOVIET DRAFT CAN BE VERIFIED IN THEIR ENTIRETY, FULLY AND ADEQUATELY, BY THE NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS AT THE DISPOSAL OF BOTH SIDES.

MR. AMBASSADOR,

OVER THE PAST MONTHS THE DELEGATIONS HAVE CARRIED OUT A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF WORK, BUT MUCH REMAINS TO BE DONE. THE COURSE OF THE PAST DISCUSSIONS QUITE DEFINITELY SHOWS THAT PROGRESS IN OUR WORK DEPENDS, ABOVE ALL, ON HOW STRICTLY WE FOLLOW THE INSTRUCTIONS WHICH ENSUE FROM THE DOCUMENTS ADOPTED AS A RESULT OF THE VLADIVOSTOK SUMMIT MEETING. THIS IS THE FOUNDATION WHICH UNDOUBTEDLY MADE IT POSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE MORE TO DATE, AND WHICH RETAINS ITS IMPORTANCE IN PRINCIPLE FOR OUR FURTHER EFFORT IN WORKING OUT AN AGREED DRAFT OF THE NEW AGREEMENT.

THE PROPOSALS OF THE SOVIET SIDE, TABLED AT THE CURRENT PHASE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, WERE PREPARED IN STRICT COMPLIANCE WITH THIS APPROACH. WE BELIEVE THAT PRECISELY SUCH AN APPROACH PROVIDES A GOOD BASIS FOR FINDING MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTIONS, AND FACILITATES SUCCESSFUL ACCOMPLISHMENT OF THE TASK BEFORE THE DELEGATIONS.

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IN CONCLUSION, PERMIT ME TO WISH YOU, MR. AMBASSADOR, AND THE ENTIRE STAFF OF THE U.S. DELEGATION A PLEASANT JOURNEY. WE WOULD LIKE TO EXPRESS OUR CONGRATULATIONS ON OCCASION OF THE COMMON HOLIDAY OF THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE CONCLUSION OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR WHICH ENDED IN THE VICTORY OF THE ANTI-HITLERITE COALITION. UNQUOTEJOHNSON

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